

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01792 01 OF 02 091900Z

42

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8618

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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DISTO

MOSCOW FOR TTBT/PNE DEL

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM CCD JA NL PL UR

SUBJECT: CCD - 692ND PLENARY MEETING, MARCH 9, 1976

DUMMARY: JAPANESE, DUTCH, SOVIET, AND POLISH REPS

SPOKD AT CCD PLENARY MARCH 9. OGISO (JAPAN) SAID CCD

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01792 01 OF 02 091900Z

SHOULD TAKE ON TASK OF EXPANDING US-SOVIET THRESHOLD

TEST BAN TREATY INTO MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT AND SHOULD SEEK TO LOWER ITS 150-KILOTON THRESHOLD. HE URGED US AND USSR TO SPEED NEGOTIATION OF TTBT PROTOCOL IN ORDER TO BRING TREATY INTO FORCE, AND CALLED ON THEM TO LOWER THRESHOLD TO MINIMUM LEVEL VERIFIABLE THROUGH EXISTING SEISMOLOGICAL MEANS. OGISO REJECTED SOVIET POSITION THAT ALL NWS MUST PARTICIPATE IN A CTB FROM THE BEGINNING. VAN DER KLAUW (THE NETHERLANDS), IN LENGTHY CRITIQUE OF US-SOVIET DRAFT ENMOD CONVENTION, QUESTIONED ITS LIMITED SCOPE AND ARGUED, FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES, IN FAVOR OF A COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON MILITARY OR OTHER HOSTILE USE OF ENMOD TECHNIQUES. HE SAID CONVENTION'S UNDERTAKINGS SHOULD BE APPLICABLE TOWARD ALL OTHER STATES RATHER THAN JUST OTHER PARTIES. VAN DER KLAUW ALSO CALLED FOR PROHIBITION OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ON TECHNIQUES FOR HOSTILE APPLICATIONS AND FOR REPLACEMENT OF DRAFT'S COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE WITH PROVISION FOR INVESTIGATION BY UN SECRETARY-GENERAL ASSISTED BY COMMITTEE OF TREATY PARTIES. ROSHCIN (USSR) DEVOTED BULK OF STATEMENT TO SOVIET MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS (MDW) PROPOSAL AND ENMOD, PROPOSING INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS BEGINNING APRIL 7 ON MDW AND ENDORSING US EXPLANATIONS OF ENMOD DRAFT CONVENTION. WYZNER (POLAND) SAID POLAND PREFERRED APPROACH TAKEN IN 1974 SOVIET ENMOD DRAFT CONVENTION BUT SUPPORTED US-SOVIET DRAFT. HE SAID THAT IF TIME IS NOT RIPE FOR JOINT CW INITIATIVE BY US AND USSR, COMMITTEE SHOULD PERHAPS RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS ON A COMPREHENSIVE BAN BASED ON EXISTING PROPOSALS. END SUMMARY.

1. OGISO (JAPAN), IN STATEMENT DEVOTED TO NUCLEAR TEST-BAN ISSUES, IDENTIFIED VERIFICATION AND PNES AS MAJOR PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN A CTB. IF VERIFICATION REMAINS AN OBSTACLE, OGISO SAID, US AND USSR SHOULD AT LEAST SEEK TO BAN ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR-WEAPON TESTS ABOVE LEVEL THAT CAN BE DETECTED AND IDENTIFIED BY PRESENT SEISMOLOGICAL MEANS, WITH THRESHOLD GRADUALLY LOWERED TO ACHIEVE AN EVENTUAL CTB. IN THIS CONNECTION, OGISO SAID JAPAN WILL SEND EXPERT TO PARTICIPATE IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01792 01 OF 02 091900Z

INFORMAL MEETINGS ON CTB LATER IN SPRING SESSION. AS FOR PNES, OGISO EMPHASIZED NEED TO SOLVE PROBLEMS OF ASSURING THAT PNES ARE NOT USED UNDER A CTB TO GAIN WEAPONS-RELATED BENEFITS.

2. TURING TO TTBT DISCUSSIONS, OGISO EXPRESSED REGRET OVER POOR PROSPECTS THAT TREATY WOULD ENTER INTO FORCE ON SCHEDULE ON MARCH 31 AND URGED US AND USSR TO MAKE

FURTHER EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. OGISO THEN SUGGESTED THAT TTBT COULD FORM BASIS FOR A NEW CCD TASK; NAMELY, TO EXAMINE POSSIBILITY OF EXPANDING TREATY INTO MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT AND TO TRY TO LOWER 150-KILOTON THRESHOLD. OGISO BELIEVED NNWS COULD MAKE "REMARKABLE CONTRIBUTIONS" IN THIS PROCESS AND PLAY PROMINENT ROLE IN OPERATION OF MULTILATERAL TREATY. HE CONSIDERED THAT MOST OF THE BILATERAL TREATY, INCLUDING THE PROVISIONS OF ITS PNE PROTOCOL, COULD BE ADOPTED AS PROVISIONS IN A MULTILATERAL TEXT. IN ADDITION, THE MULTILATERAL TREATY DRAFTED BY THE CCD COULD ESTABLISH A VERIFICATION COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF THE NWS AND A FEW NNWS THROUGH WHICH THE DATA CALLED FOR IN THE TTBT PROTOCOL COULD BE EXCHANGED. AS FAR AS PNEs ARE CONCERNED, OGISO SUGGESTED THAT IF PNE ACCOMMODATION PROVES TOO DIFFICULT, STUDY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO PERMITTING PNEs ONLY UNDER INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION OR OF BANNING ALL PNEs OVER THE THRESHOLD FOR A LIMITED (E.G., FIVE-YEAR) PERIOD. IN ORDER TO LOWER THE THRESHOLD IN THE TREATY AND ULTIMATELY ACHIEVE A CTB, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONDUCT SERIOUS TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF YIELDS THAT CAN BE DETECTED AND IDENTIFIED.

3. OGISO SAID CCD WAS APPROPRIATE ORGAN TO NEGOTIATE SUCH A TREATY. WHILE NWS THAT APPEARED UNREADY TO JOIN TESTING RESTRICTIONS SHOULD BE PERSISTENTLY CALLED UPON TO PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS, OGISO SAID, JAPAN COULD NOT AGREE WITH IDEA THAT PARTICIPATION BY ALL NWS SHOULD BE PRECONDITION FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON CTB.

4. OGISO URGED US AND USSR TO COMPLETE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AT AN EARLY DATE AND TO UNDERTAKE FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 GENEVA 01792 01 OF 02 091900Z

ON REDUCTIONS BEFORE 1980. AS PROGRESS IS MADE IN THIS REGARD, HE SAID, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ENSURE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER NWS. HE SPECIFICALLY CALLED ON PRC AND FRANCE TO JOIN CCD TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, AND ON PRC TO BRING EARLY HALT TO ITS ATMOSPHERIC TESTING.

5. IN CONCLUDING, OGISO SAID THAT WITH RATIFICATION BILL BEFORE DIET JAPAN INTENDED TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO JOIN NPT AND PARTICIPATE IN NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS "IN NAME AS WELL AS IN FACT."

6. VAN DER KLAUW (THE NETHERLANDS) GAVE DETAILED COMMENTS ON US-SOVIET DRAFT ENMOD CONVENTION. HE SAID WITH RESPECT TO ART I THAT THE TERMS "WIDESPREAD,

LONG-LASTING, OR SEVERE" NEEDED TO BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD.
"WIDESPREAD," HE NOTED, WOULD BE ONE THING IN
A SMALL AND POPULOUS COUNTRY AND ANOTHER IN A LARGE
AND EMPTY COUNTRY. HE ASKED IF "WIDESPREAD" WOULD
APPLY TO ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT OVER A PERIOD OF TIME,
INDIVIDUALLY HAVING ONLY LOCAL EFFECTS BUT CUMULATIVELY
AFFECTING A LARGE AREA. VAN DER KLAUW ALSO ASKED
FOR CLARIFICATION OF "SEVERE," I.E., WHETHER IT WOULD
APPLY TO DAMAGE TO PEOPLE OR ALSO TO NATURE ITSELF.
FORESEEING AMBIGUOUS SITUATIONS, HE ASKED IF PRECIPITATION
MODIFICATION WOULD BE PROHIBITED IF IT DID NOT
RESULT IN FLOODS OR DROUGHT.

7. VAN DER KLAUW ARGUED THAT A CONVENTION WITH A
LIMITED SCOPE WOULD GIVE RISE TO DIFFICULT PROBLEMS
OF INTERPRETATION THAT COULD BE AVOIDED BY ADOPTING A
COMPREHENSIVE PROHIBITION, WHICH WOULD ALSO GIVE THE
CONVENTION A MORE MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL PURPOSE. HE
SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE RAISED THIS QUESTION AS A MATTER
FOR DISCUSSION, NOTING THAT THE NETHERLANDS HAD NOT YET
TAKEN A FINAL POSITION ON IT.

8. IN THE EVENT THAT A CONVENTION WITH LIMITED SCOPE
WERE TO BE ACCEPTED, VAN DER KLAUW SAID THAT THE PROHIBITION
SHOULD APPLY TO ENMOD TECHNIQUES "WHICH MAY BE EXPECTED
TO HAVE WIDESPREAD, LONG-LASTING, OR SEVERE EFFECTS"
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PAGE 05 GENEVA 01792 01 OF 02 091900Z

RATHER THAN TECHNIQUES "HAVING" SUCH EFFECTS, AS IN
PRESENT DRAFT.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01792 02 OF 02 091933Z

42

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 1792

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9. VAN DER KLAUW ALSO TOOK ISSUE WITH LIMITING THE
APPLICABILITY OF THE PROHIBITION TO OTHER STATES PARTY
TO THE CONVENTION, SAYING PARTIES SHOULD UNDERTAKE COMMITMENT
VIS-A-VIS ALL OTHER STATES. ARGUING THAT EVEN RETALIATORY
USE OF ENMOD SHOULD BE BANNED, HE CALLED FOR ADOPTION OF
LANGUAGE FROM THE 1974 SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION TO THE EFFECT
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01792 02 OF 02 091933Z

THAT PARTIES UNDERTAKE "NEVER UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO RESORT
TO SUCH MEANS OF INFLUENCING THE ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE OR
TO CARRY OUT PREPARATIONS FOR THEIR USE."

10. VAN DER KLAUW ENDORSED ARTICLE II DEFINITION OF
ENMOD TECHNIQUES. HOWEVER, HE SAW NO REASON TO RETAIN
ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF EFFECTS OF USE OF SUCH TECHNIQUES,
PREFERRING INSTEAD AGREED MINUTES OR AN ANNEX THAT WOULD
PROVIDE AN ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF TECHNIQUES LIMITED TO
THOSE THAT WOULD ALWAYS BE BANNED UNDER TREATY AND NOT, AS
IN PRESENT TEXT, INCLUDING SOME THAT COULD BE PERMISSIBLE.
HE SAID CONVENTION SHOULD ALSO PROHIBIT RESEARCH AND DEVELOP-
MENT OF HOSTILE APPLICATIONS OF ENMOD TECHNIQUES.

1. AGREEING THAT THE CONVENTION SHOULD NOT DEAL WITH QUESTIONS OF PEACEFUL USES OF ENMOD, VAN DER KLAUW "WHOLEHEARTEDLY" SUPPORTED US VIEW THAT THERE IS NOT NEED TO INCORPORATE COMMITMENT TO COOPERATE IN PROMOTION OF SUCH USES ALONG LINES OF ARTICLE X OF BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION.

12. VAN DER KLAUW CALLED COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE IN ARTICLE V UNSATISFACTORY FOR SEVERAL REASONS. HE SAID RESPONSIBILITY FOR INVESTIGATING SUSPECTED VIOLATIONS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL INSTEAD OF SECURITY COUNCIL, AND HE SUGGESTED CREATION OF COMMITTEE OF 10-15 TREATY PARTIES TO ASSIST SYG IN FACT-FINDING. COMMITTEE COULD ALSO ADVISE SYG ON WHAT TO DO WITH RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION, INCLUDING REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR PERIODIC REVIEW CONFERENCES WHICH VAN DER KLAUW SAID WOULD BE ESPECIALLY NEEDED IN ENMOD TREATY.

13. ON MDW, ROSHCIN (USSR) SAID FIRST TASK WAS TO DETERMINE WEAPONS AND SYSTEMS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE TREATY PUT FORWARD BY THE SOVIETS AT THE UNGA. TO CONSIDER THIS QUESTION, ROSHCIN FORMALLY PROPOSED THE CONVENING OF INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS BEGINNING WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7. HE SAID EACH DELEGATION SHOULD DECIDE WHAT TYPE OF SPECIALIST TO SEND FOR THE INFORMAL MEETINGS, BASED ON ITS JUDGMENT OF WHICH BRANCH OF SCIENCE HELD OPEN MOST SERIOUS POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPMENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01792 02 OF 02 091933Z

OF NEW MDW. FOR ITS PART, USSR WILL PROVIDE EXPERTS (UNNAMED) FROM SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND FROM MINISTRY OF DEFENSE.

14. ON ENMOD, ROSHCIN SAID USSR CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY FOR CCD TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATION OF CONVENTION IN TIME TO REPORT AGREED TEXT TO 1976 UNGA. RECALLING VIEWS PUT FORWARD CONCERNING DRAFT, INCLUDING THOSE OF SWEDEN, ARGENTINA AND AUSTRALIA AT UNGA, HE SAID US STATEMENTS OF FEB. 17 AND MARCH 4 HAD EFFECTIVELY DEALT WITH QUESTIONS RAISED AND THAT USSR CONSIDERED US ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF APPROACH TAKEN IN US-SOVIET DRAFT "WELL-FOUNDED". HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT OTHER DELS WOULD OFFER THEIR VIEWS ON DRAFT DURING SPRING SESSION.

15. ROSHCIN ALSO REVIEWED DISARMAMENT ASPECTS OF REPORT TO 25TH CONGRESS OF CPSU, EMPHASIZING SOVIET SUPPORT FOR SALT, MBFR, SYSTEMATIC REDUCTION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES, AND CONVENING OF A WDC. HE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSALITY OF NPT, EXPRESSING SATISFACTION AT JAPANESE STATEMENT CONCERNING CONTINUING EFFORTS TO COMPLETE RATIFICATION OF TREATY.

16. WYZNER (POLAND) PRAISED SOVIET INITIATIVES AT 1975 UNGA AS WELL AS BREZHNEV PROPOSAL TO 25TH CONGRESS FOR CONCLUSION OF TREATY ON NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. HE CALLED FOR REMAINING HOLDOUTS TO FOLLOW EURATOM COUNTRIES IN RATIFYING THE NPT, SAYING THAT AFTER THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE THERE WAS NO VALID ARGUMENT FOR WITHHOLDING RATIFICATION. HE STRONGLY CRITICIZED UNGA RESOLUTION "DEFINING" NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES AND PRINCIPAL OBLIGATIONS OF NWS TOWARD THEM. WYZNER CALLED FOR THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF A GROUP OF QUALIFIED GOVERNMENTAL EXPERTS TO CONSIDER SOVIET MDW PROPOSAL.

17. ON ENMOD, WYZNER NOTED UNGA "ENDORSEMENT" OF US-SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION AND SAID CCD SHOULD COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS DURING 1976. HE SAID POLAND PREFERRED APPROACH TAKEN IN 1974 SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION, BUT SINCE "TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE" POLAND GIVES ITS FULL SUPPORT TO PARALLEL DRAFTS.

18. WYZER RECALLED POLISH SUPPORT FOR COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO PROHIBITION OF CW, BUT ADDED THAT SINCE THIS HAD POSED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 GENEVA 01792 02 OF 02 091933Z

DIFFICULTIES FOR SOME DELEGATIONS, POLAND HAD WELCOMED PHASED APPROACH ENVISAGED IN 1974 US-USSR SUMMIT STATEMENT CONCERNING POSSIBLE JOINT CCD INITIATIVE DEALING WITH MOST DANGEROUS, LETHAL MEANS OF CW. WYZNER REMARKED, HOWEVER, THAT "UNFORTUNATELY, NOTHING SEEMS TO BE HAPPENING" IN THIS RESPECT. POLES, HE SAID, DID NOT "SEEK TO PIN THE BLAME ON ANY PARTICULAR DELEGATION," SINCE FACTS WERE THERE FOR ANYONE TO JUDGE FOR HIMSELF. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, WYZNER SAID COMMITTEE MIGHT BE WELL ADVISED TO RETURN TO COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH, CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF EXISTING PROPOSALS.

19. COMMITTEE AGREED TO HOLD NEXT INFORMAL MEETING ON ORGANIZATION OF WORK ON FRIDAY, MARCH 12. NEXT PLENARY MEETING THURSDAY, MARCH 11.DALE

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